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Author(s): Ivanka Gergova

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Russian Orthodox Art in the Bulgarian Lands from the 16th until the Late 19th Century: The Current State of Investigation and Avenues for Further Research

Ivanka Gergova

Институт за изследване на изкуствата,
Българска академия на науките, Sofia (BG)

translation by Milena Lilova

RÉSUMÉ: Dès le milieu du xx^e siècle, les chercheurs bulgares s'intéressent à l'étude des œuvres d'art religieux russe qui sont arrivées dans l'aire culturelle bulgare ; mais ces études n'ont jamais été menées de manière intensive. Les futures approches devront collecter, cataloguer et étudier les collections plus importantes d'icônes, d'estampes et d'objets russes de culte, en rassemblant toutes les informations nécessaires qui concernent les modalités d'acquisition de ces objets, leurs donateurs et leurs histoires individuelles. Une attention particulière devra être accordée aux peintres russes qui ont vécu en Bulgarie, ainsi qu'aux Bulgares qui ont étudié les arts en Russie, sachant que ces derniers ont peint des icônes après le retour en Bulgarie. L'influence de l'art orthodoxe russe sur les sujets abordés et les styles utilisés dans l'art bulgare pourra compléter ce panorama. La présente étude se propose de faire le bilan des recherches en cours.

MOTS-CLÉS: icônes russes, icônes miraculeuses, gravures, *lubok*, échanges artistiques.

REZUMAT: Cercetătorii bulgari au fost preocupați de studiul operelor rusești de artă sacră din teritoriile bulgare încă de la mijlocul secolului xx, deși nu foarte intens. Viitoarele abordări ar trebui să colecteze, să catalogheze și să studieze colecții mai mari de icoane rusești, tipărituri și obiecte de cult, adunând informații despre modalitățile de obținere a obiectelor, despre donatorii lor și poveștile individuale. O atenție deosebită se cuvine și pictorilor ruși care au locuit în Bulgaria, precum și bulgarilor care au studiat artele în Rusia, pentru a picta apoi icoane în locurile lor de obârșie. Influența artei ortodoxe ruse asupra subiectelor și stilurilor artei bulgare este, de asemenea, un domeniu de cercetare care promite foarte mult.

CUVINTE CHEIE: icoane rusești, icoane făcătoare de minuni, gravuri, *lubok*, relații artistice.

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VISUAL CULTURE, PIETY
AND PROPAGANDA:
TRANSFER AND RECEPTION OF
RUSSIAN RELIGIOUS ART IN THE BALKANS
AND THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN
(16TH TO EARLY 20TH CENTURY)

The first Bulgarian researcher to deal with the subject of Bulgarian-Russian art relations was Andrey Protich in 1920.¹ In 1955, Nikola Mavrodinov laid the foundation for a more extensive study of these relations, from the Middle Ages until the 20th century.² Without exaggeration, his work was nothing less than trailblazing. Although the author was unaware of many facts and artefacts, he raised questions that remain relevant even today. He was intrigued by the pathways through which the dissemination of Russian icons, graphic works, and church plates was made across the Bulgarian lands. Other topics which interested him were their influence on local masters; the matter

of two Russians who lived in 19th century Bulgarian lands and produced a series of prints and wooden carvings; as well as the story of those Bulgarians who went to Russia and studied art. Most unfortunately, he did not continue this research. The communist totalitarian regime forced him to focus his subsequent studies on secular art made by Bulgarian artists who studied in Russian art schools.³ Nevertheless, by the end of the 20th century and at the turn of the 21st, several studies dealt with Russian or Ukrainian prototypes of the prints and paintings created by Bulgarian icon painters.⁴ Elena Genova provided a general outlook on the role of various Russian and Ukrainian templates which



▲ Fig. 1. *The Most Holy Mother of God of Tikhvin*. Church of the Assumption, Bregovo. Credits: Ivan Vanev.

► Fig. 2. *The Virgin and Child*, icon of the Samokov City History Museum. Courtesy of the same museum.

greatly influenced the imagery used in the Bulgarian Orthodox art of the National Revival period.⁵ More recently, collections of Russian icons and artwork, including an illuminated Russian manuscript, were made available to the public.⁶ The Russian icons in Bulgaria are also explored according to their subjects.⁷

This makes the project *Visual Culture, Piety and Propaganda: Transfer and Reception of Russian Religious Art in the Balkans and the Eastern Mediterranean* particularly valuable, since it will provide an extensive and focused research on the monuments of Russian religious art in Bulgaria and its impact on Bulgarian art. In turn, this will provide food for thought, leading to better explorations of its role, often over- or underestimated in the past. Therefore, it is no surprise that the major task of the current research is to record and catalogue the Russian Orthodox works of art present in Bulgarian monasteries, churches, museums, and libraries. Russian icons, gospel book covers, chalices, patens, robes, and vestments are found throughout the country, but they are not necessarily recorded in publications or archival sources (Fig. 3, 4, 6). Their identification is more often than not a matter of chance. Assembling their (more or less) complete inventory is hardly possible.⁸ Perhaps the best way to deal with the problem is to follow the structure laid by the pioneering research of N. Mavrodinov. I will take a look at the larger collections first.

First of all, there are two villages of Russian Old-Believers: Kazashko, now a district of the city of Varna, and Tataritsa, in the region of Silistra (now a district of the town of Aidermir).⁹ Both villages have churches with iconostases made

up of icons which have been brought by the Russian migrants from their homeland.¹⁰ These two large collections have never been explored. Secondly, the Rila monastery has a rich collection of Russian icons, church plates, and printed books. Unfortunately, even though Rila is Bulgaria's biggest and most important monastery, a full catalogue of its treasures has never been compiled to this day, so the wealth of icons and church plates remains unknown. A full catalogue of its library has never been published either, nor is the rich archive fully catalogued, classified, and made accessible. Nikola Mavrodinov provided information about certain Russian works of art of the cloister,¹¹ but most of them never caught the 'radar' of scientific research. General information is provided only about the rich collection of Russian incunabula of the monastery, but there is no data concerning the engravings therein contained.¹² Finally, some Russian icons belonging to the Rila monastery have been published,¹³ but no special analyses were ever made. Another place of interest is the nunnery in Kalofer, known to house Russian icons of the 18th and the 19th centuries, with silver *rizas* (revetements).¹⁴ Y. Pop Georgiev argued that the great icons of the Church of the Nativity of the Most Holy Mother of God in the town of Elena (built in 1866) were made in Moscow.¹⁵ Nevertheless, both collections are still unexplored.

Forty-seven wood and five metal Russian icons are recorded in the storage vaults of the National Archaeological Institute with Museum, in Sofia (Fig. 5).¹⁶ There is a rich collection of Orthodox works of art in the National Church Museum of History and Archaeology of the Holy Synod, Sofia. And there is also the Alexander Nevsky Cathedral Crypt Icon Museum, as well as the National History Museum (NAM), but these icons were never fully investigated and the studies made available, and there are no Russian icons among the published artefacts, which is due to lack of interest rather than on account of the actual content of these collections.¹⁷ An interesting catalogue of 49 metal crosses and icon pendants found in the graves of the Russian soldiers killed in the Battle of Plevna (1877) during the Russo-Turkish War is among the very few works which benefitted from publications.¹⁸ Last but not least, a number of generally late Russian icons are also sold by auction houses and are found in private collections, but these are difficult to account for.

As for the prints, the project needs to gather and catalogue Russian and Ukrainian prints from the large but unexplored collections of the National Archaeological Institute with Museum (now housed in the storage vaults of the National History Museum), as well as from the Samokov Regional History Museum and, incidentally, from other collections (Fig. 7).¹⁹ Professional icon painters took a real interest in Russian icons, as is evidenced by a sort of *hermeneia* belonging to Simeon Koiuv, a painter from Triavna, and to his sons (currently at the National Church Institute of History and Archaeology of the Holy Synod, Sofia).²⁰ Their original drawings and sketches are bound in a notebook together with various Menologion engravings printed in Moscow in 1832 and 1833. Evidence of the tastes and visual culture of local Bulgarian Orthodox Christians is provided by the late Russian and Ukrainian lithographs found in many churches and monasteries, as well as in museum collections, for example in the Directorate of Museums, Koprivshtitsa. They hardly ever attracted any research interest. To sum it up, the indispensable conclusions cannot be drawn before creating a database covering the Orthodox Russian artworks in Bulgaria. The current study is introductory at best.



Next, another inescapable problem will be the provenance of the works of art and their classification according to certain art centres, as well as their precise dating, which needs to be made by experts and can be attained only through collaboration with Russian colleagues. For instance, the earliest known Russian icon in nowadays Bulgaria – chronologically speaking – is the Vladimir icon of the Mother of God at Rila monastery, supposedly brought by a monk who went to Russia in the 1580s.²¹ But there is also the Vladimir icon of the Mother of God from Boyana (NAM, Sofia), which was initially dated to the 18th century, due to an inscription incised into the background.²² However, the expert opinion of Prof. E. Smirnova argues that the icon was also painted in the 16th century.

Since the project will study artefacts made until the end of the 19th century, it needs to take into account historical contexts too. In the last quarter of the same century, after the Liberation from the Ottomans in 1878, Bulgarian art experienced a new, completely different period, which continued after the Union of the Principality of Bulgaria with Eastern Roumelia (the latter being tributary of the Ottoman Empire until 1885), and the ultimate independence achieved in 1908. By that time, the features of Bulgarian Orthodox art were already changing. Mindsets and aesthetic views also broke with the medieval stereotypes, so it would be very helpful to trace which of the new features originated in Russia or in the Russian Athonite monastic community. For instance, the monastery dedicated to Saint-Alexander-Nevsky near Yambol was restored immediately after 1878 and its iconostasis was made by Russian painters. At that time, the memorial cathedral in Shipka was also built to commemorate the Russian soldiers killed in the Russian-Turkish War, being designed and decorated

by a Russian architect and Russian painters.²³ The Church of Saint-Demetrius in the village of Gorna Studena, where in the war of 1877 the staff of the Russian army was accommodated and where the Russian emperor lived for several months, was completed and decorated with Russian assistance.²⁴ As for the cathedral in Varna, it was designed by an Odessan architect by the name of Maas (1883) and its icons were commissioned in Sankt Petersburg by the Russian consul, Tcherkovsky.²⁵

Delving deeper into the subject, one must be aware of the fact that a large part of the Russian icons of Bulgaria are replicas of the wonderworking icons of Our Lady of Vladimir in Tikhvin, Kazan, famous across Russia, of the Theodore (*Feodorovskaya*) icon of the Most Holy Mother of God, of the Consolation, of the Burning Bush, etc. (Fig. 1, 2).²⁶ Was this only a matter of commercial supply? Were such icons specifically in demand? The answer should take into account the manner in which these icons were appropriately venerated in their new homes (households and churches), but also what were the feast days, the specific functions, and the stories behind the Russian originals. There are ways to obtain such information. The Bulgarians who visited Russia for business and especially those who read Russian liturgical books could certainly identify the replicas of those wonderworking icons. Pencho Radev, born in Karlovo, published Bulgarian translations of several perpetual calendars: for 1860 (in Bucharest), for 1865 (in Kiev), and for 1871 (also in Kiev). Those calendars contained texts mentioning the healing powers of several saints and their feast days, along with information about Russian wonderworking icons: "Let those struck by blindness pray to the Most Holy Mother of God of Kazan in order to see again; her feast day falls on July 8th... Let women having a difficult delivery pray for easier labour to the Theodore icon of the Most Holy Mother of God, on August 16th... To take care of young children's health, pray to the Most Holy Mother of God of Tikhvin, on June 26th... To protect yourself from fire or thunderbolts, you shall pray

▼ Fig. 3. *The Resurrection of Christ with other scenes. The metropolitan see, Vidin. Credits: Ivan Vanev.*

▲ Fig. 4. *Saint Charalambos surrounded by scenes from his life. The metropolitan see, Vidin. Credits: Ivan Vanev.*





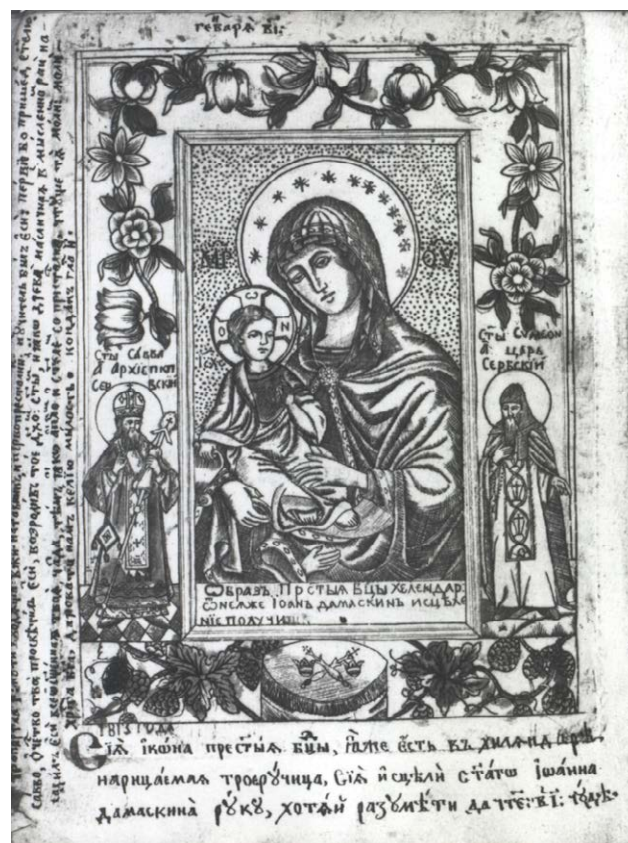
to the Most Holy Mother of God of the Burning Bush, on September 4th (За да прогледне онзи, комуто са ослепели очите, нека ся моли на Пресвета Богородица Казанска. Службата ѝ е юлиа на 8... Жена, която мъчно ражда, нека ся моли на Пресвета Богородица Теодоровска. 16 августъ... За да ся опазува здравето на малки деца нека ся моли на Пресвета Богородица Тихвинска. 26 юни... За да ся уварди некой от пожаръ и от громъ нека ся моли на Пресвета Богородица Неопалимая купина. 4 септември).²⁷ And such situations are not restricted to calendars. A mid-19th century codex of prayers and *vitae* of the Saints-Cyril-and-Methodius National Library (NBKM 1012)²⁸ contains a prayer to the Vladimir icon of Our Lady. Maybe this is the reason why a number of Russian replicas of the Chilandar icon of the Most Holy Mother of God of the Three Hands and of other wonderworking icons of non-Russian provenance are found in Bulgaria (Fig. 8).

Several Russian icons are venerated for testifying to their wonderworking power in various Bulgarian churches.²⁷ The earliest of them is that of Saint-George at the monastery of Glozhene (Glozhenski monastery), previously named *Kievan*. A local legend has it that the icon came there flying all by itself from Kiev and this miraculous event laid the foundation for the monastery. The original icon, probably an 18th century Ukrainian work, was covered in a silver repoussé revetment wrought in 1827 and a local icon painter added a broad frame featuring hagiographical scenes a year earlier. Taken at its face value, the legend presumably reflects actual relations of the monks of Glozhene with Ukraine. And this is not all. A second wonderworking icon was presented by the Russian troops who liberated the town of Lovech. It was bestowed with a halo of thaumaturgy by the Russian soldiers, who believed that the icon helped them during the battles with the Turks. A third one was brought from Russia, where it was copied after the Chilandarian icon of the Most Holy Mother of God of the Three Hands, venerated on Mount Athos. The provenance, the painter, and the artistic quality were usually im-

Fig. 5. Saint Nicholas with other saints. National Archaeological Institute with Museum, Sofia. Credits: Alexander Kuyumdjiev.

Fig. 6. Revetment of an altar table gospel, Church of the Nativity of the Most Holy Mother of God, Berkovitsa. Credits: Ivan Vanev.

Fig. 7. The Virgin of the Three Hands with saints Simon and Sabbas of Serbia. 1813. Manuscript, NBKM 740. Courtesy of the National Library, Sofia.





СВРАЗЪ ПРЪТЯ БДЪ НЕОПАЛИМЫА КЪПИЦЫ

А	В	Г	Д	Е
<p>творай агглы своя дхъ сиречь пламе ны мразъ иснѣгъ служебны сѣтъ агглы воздержанія ветрѣ бѣре идондѣю сиречь наслѣжѣ вернымъ челоѣкомъ</p>	<p>дхъ силъ агглы мглы сиречь очищение подвѣла силою вѣтвенною дхъ силъ агглы страха бжѣ гроизъ сѣ речь проявляа страшно прѣшествіе хрѣво</p>	<p>дхъ премѣдрости агглы огню палащѣ сиречь намъ хотѣнїа а быти показа агглы шѣченне проа вляа противѣ вѣры полюющѣхъ хѣнїа дасть чашѣ горести</p>	<p>дхъ страха бжѣ агглы мразѣ илѣдѣ иснѣгѣ бжѣ разѣмїа намъ показа агглы молнїи пленї хотѣша быти шѣ дѣшаго сѣдїа яко прїдетѣ вскорѣ</p>	<p>агглы шѣвѣомѣ идѣгѣ еже естъ завѣтъ да прѣславнѣ чудо намъ показа дхъ разѣмїа гласомъ агглы блїстѣнїа сиречь ако волею убѣждѣлетѣ спѣшнѣ шѣвѣа</p>

material to the early veneration of an icon as a wonder-working one. However, the stereotype that a wonder-working power of an icon was transmitted to its exact copies is confirmed.

In the late 19th century, cheap and accessible handcrafted Russian icons spread widely across Bulgaria. Hundreds of copies are extant. In most cases, they were purchased for a home iconostasis, but often were also donated to churches. There is no straight answer to the question whether this was due to the low prices which attracted buyers or to the fact that Russian icons were surrounded by a 'halo' of holiness and legitimacy. Indicative of the status of Russian icons is the fact that they were often placed at the centre of Bulgarian iconostases, above the royal doors or in the middle of portable icon stands. Nevertheless, this situation was not always the same. There was a certain decline in the reputation of Russian handcrafted icons after the Liberation. For instance, architect Georgi Kozarov visited Triavna at the turn of the 20th century and met the last living representatives of the Triavnanian icon painters. Dwelling on the decline in Triavnanian icon painting, he wrote: "Loyal to the tradition, they [*i. e.* the last Triavnanian painters] were unable or unwilling to know more than their predecessors. Since they were competing with cheap Russian icons, there was no market for their work and they despaired of their craft... Recently, they obtained models of Russian icons, but facing the protest of some of our bishops, they gave up even on this humble desire of theirs" (*Верни на традицията, те не могат или пък не искат да знаят повече от своите предходници. При конкуренцията на евтините руски икони техните произведения остават без пазар и затова те са отчаяни от занаята си... Напоследък набавили си предложки от руски икони, но пред протеста на някои наши владци, те се отказали от това си скромно желание*).³⁰

Particular attention should be paid to two Russian painters who lived for a while in the 19th century Bulgarian lands. The first one was a monk, Leontius, who signed 'Leontius Rus'. The records of the monastery of Trojan have it that he came to the monastery in 1818 and hegumen Parthenius took him under his protection, since he was a master of copperplate engraving.³¹ Leontius made three signed engravings for the monastery of Trojan: a depiction of the monastery with the wonderworking icon, saint Nicholas seated on a throne (1819), and an icon of the *Panagia Glykophilousa* ('Sweet-Kissing Mother of God').³² Different opinions were expressed about the life of monk Leontius and the place of his training,³³ but no particular study has been conducted in this regard. An analysis of the style in the engravings he signed could clarify a number of issues, such as the place of his training or the patterns and templates he used. Such a study may also identify some of his anonymous artworks.

Speaking of artists, a colourful figure, Georgi Vladikin, called *Kazaka* ('Cossack') also aroused deeper interest.³⁴ At the end of the Russian-Turkish War of 1829, Vladikin stayed in Svishtov and taught drawing for years in this town on the Danube. Research often argues that he carved two iconostases there: in the Church of Prophet Elijah and in that of the Transfiguration,³⁵ but new assumptions about the authorship of the carvings were recently made.³⁶ The records show that Vladikin was also busy painting icons and a small stone statuary. N. Mavrodinov was right that Georgi Kazaka's oeuvre is still to be explored. His ideas hold true to this day.

Another line of research is the effect of Russian Orthodox art on the Bulgarian one, both in terms of repertoires and



◀ Fig. 8. *Theotokos of the Burning Bush*. Engraving. Samokov City History Museum. Courtesy of the same Museum.

▲ Fig. 9. *Theotokos of the Our Lady of the Vladimir type*. Triavna School. National Archaeological Institute with Museum, Sofia. Credits: Alexander Kuyumdjiev.

iconography, as well as in the issue of style (Fig. 9). Some compositions believed to be of Russian provenance, such as *In Thee Rejoiceth*,³⁷ *The Protection of the Theotokos*,³⁸ *Ordeals of the Soul*,³⁹ *Sophia, the Wisdom of God*,⁴⁰ *The Trinity*,⁴¹ and variants of Russian wonderworking icons such as the Vladimir Most Holy Mother of God were already mentioned.⁴² The influence of the typically Russian subject of the Virgin of Consolation was used in an icon by painter Father Pavel from Shipka.⁴³ His contacts with Russian iconography are still unclear, but they are discernible in the style of some of his artworks, such as his icon of the Most Holy Mother of God of the Three Hands in the catholicon of the Sokolski Monastery. Maybe this

is the place to say that prints from Russian / Ukrainian books provided the source of inspiration for some of the Apocalypses painted in Bulgarian churches,⁴⁴ as well as for a number of subjects studied by E. Genova. A lavishly illustrated late 17th century Synodicon made for a Russian Old-Believer belonged to a monk from Rila and was used at his monastery as a template for the cycle of the Ordeals at the Church of the Protection of the Theotokos (and possibly for other representations).⁴⁵

An interesting avenue of research could be the role played by Russian folk prints (*lubok* – a popular print featuring simple graphics and narratives) in the work of the engravers of the Samokov Art School. A print of the *Fortune-Telling Book*, supposedly made by the Samokovian Vladimir Karastoianov,⁴⁶ is an exact replica of a 'folk print' published in Moscow in 1879, at the lithographic workshop of I. Golyshev.⁴⁷ In the same category, the popularity of Russian saints (Dimitry of Rostov, Boris and Gleb, etc.) led to their depiction in Bulgarian Orthodox art, at least partially using Russian models.⁴⁸ However, the context where these images emerged and their meaning was far more important than iconography itself. They deserve a more thorough analysis, especially pertaining to the idea of Pan-Slavism.⁴⁹

This leads us to the last category of this state of the art: Bulgarian artists studying in Russia. Theodosius, a monk from the Rila monastery, began his studies in 1859 at the school of icon painting from the Saint-Sergius Laura of the Holy Trinity. In 1868, Theodosius came back to his monastery. As Vassiliev provides fragmentary notions about his life and works,⁵⁰ but neither of Theodosius' artworks was ever published. A portfolio of his drawings and records in the archives of the Rila monastery could serve as a basis for a monograph on this unknown icon painter. Still, the

strongest influence of late Russian icon painting is discernible in the icons painted by the Samokovian painter Stanislav Dospevsky, who came back from Russia, where he studied at the Moscow School of Art and Architecture and at the Imperial Academy of Arts in Sankt Petersburg. N. Mavrodinov argued that all of Dospevsky's icons were influenced by the Russian religious paintings of his time.⁵¹ His case may serve as a punch line of the current study, since he also signed: *a work by Russian painter Mr. Stanislav Dospevsky*.⁵² No specific analyses were made about where this Samokovian painter learned his craft or what were the sources of inspiration for his icons. The fact that he was much in demand after his return from Russia, winning several competitions for the decoration of churches, testifies to the Orthodox Bulgarian preference for the Russian religious painting of the time. This goes to show that all pieces of information concerning these works of art – donors, owners, intended use, and the stories behind their creation – will prove to be instrumental in this research. This is why any future research must concentrate on the study archival material.⁵³

In conclusion, one might say that there are several reasons why Russian Orthodox works of art spread across the Bulgarian lands. First, there were the commercial acquisitions, mainly in the 19th century. But there was also personal devotion, as testified by the donations of Bulgarians living in Russia, in hope of their salvation. And there was also the issue of charity, meaning the donations of persons or organizations from Russia, partially or fully associated with the policy of the Russian Empire. From all the above, it is evident that the subject is vast and (hopefully) ever-increasing. The current study cannot provide any answers; only questions. This is why it restricts itself to a description of the state of the art.

Notes:

1 Протич 1920.

2 Мавроудинов 1955.

3 The series of studies begins with Василиев 1951. It is followed by Лвова 1958a; Лвова 1958b; Лвова 1960; Василиев 1965 etc. Ia Blianova's doctoral dissertation dealt with Bulgarian artists who studied in 19th century Russia (1968, Leningrad).

4 Лозанова 1998; Попова 2001.

5 Генова 2002.

6 Аспарухова, Дичева 2005; Гергова, Гатев, Ванев 2012; Гергова 2013; Гергова 2016.

7 Гергова 2010; Gergova 2016.

8 An emblematic piece of information is that the monks from the Monastery of Ustrem brought icons, robes, curtains, and vestments from Russia, which were then donated to the nearby villages. See Попов 1911, p. 18. I published some of the small collections in Гергова 2015, p. 42; Гергова 2016, p. 135, 144.

9 Анастасова 1998.

10 Nekrasov's Old-Believer Cossacks emigrated from the Kuban to the Ottoman Empire in 1740. Анастасова 1998, p. 29.

11 Мавроудинов 1955, p. 58, 62-69.

12 Христова 2000, p. 42-43.

13 Мавроудинов 1955, fig. 41, 42; Каменова 1986, p. 68; Коева 1989, p. 48, 69; Коева 1995, p. 22.

14 Protich 1923, p. 19; Друмева 2003, p. 49, 61, 111, 117; Гергова

2010, p. 36.

15 Поп Георгиев 1904, p. 88.

16 Гергова, Гатев, Ванев 2012.

17 Fifteen Russian icons, none of which were published, are on display at the National Church Museum of History and Archaeology of the Holy Synod.

18 Аспарухова, Дичева 2005.

19 Two occurrences of Russian *lubok* were identified: a print depicting a miracle worked by the Theotokos, from the collections of the National Archaeological Institute with Museum, in Sofia (Гергова 2012, p. 92-97); and a print with saint George, embedded in a reliquary containing the relics of saint George the New Martyr of Sofia (Бойкина 2019, p. 327, fig. 4). In Томов 1975, ill. 305-308, one may find four Russian *lubki* from the collections of the National Archaeological Institute with Museum, in Sofia, but they were mistakenly identified by as Athonite prints.

20 Гошев 1930, p. 202; Рошковска 1976; Гергова 2010, p. 38.

21 Чураков 1960. The author believes that the icon may be dated to the 16th century.

22 Гергова, Гатев, Ванев 2012, cat. II. 53; Gergova 2016, fig. 8.

23 Храм-паметникът 1986; Добрев 2002; Чекова 2010. Interesting information about the role of count Ignatiev in conceiving the decoration of the memorial cathedral in Shipka may be found in Чеснокова 2016.

24 Уста-Генчов 1938.

- 25 Мавродинов 1955, p. 109, 110.
- 26 Гергова 2010.
- 27 Гергова 2010, p. 35.
- 28 Стоянов, Кодов 1964, p. 170-171.
- 29 Gergova 2016, p. 154-157.
- 30 Козаров 1901, p. 70.
- 31 Харитон 1958, p. 129.
- 32 Томов 1975, pp. 33-35, ill. 21, 116, 117.
- 33 This latter publication gives a summary of the assumptions published earlier: Стойкова 2006, p. 162-168.
- 34 Дамянова 2014.
- 35 Мавродинов 1955, p. 74-75; Друмев 1962, p. 125-127.
- 36 Захариев 2019.
- 37 Геров 1995.
- 38 Генова 2001.
- 39 Генова 2011; Иванова 2013.
- 40 Гергова 2010, p. 37.
- 41 Куюмджиева 2010.
- 42 Гергова 2010, p. 36.
- 43 Попова, 2001.
- 44 Лозанова 1998; Генова 2002, p. 56, 57; Куюмджиев 2014.
- 45 Гергова 2013, p. 41-50.
- 46 Томов 1975, p. 76, ill. 55.
- 47 *The Lubok* 1984, p. 174.
- 48 Мавродинов 1955, p. 76-80; Банк 1976; Алексиев 1981; Дончева-Петкова 1985; Чекова 2007; Чекова 2008; Чекова 2020; Чекова 2013.
- 49 Гергова 2004.
- 50 Василиев 1965, p. 554.
- 51 Мавродинов 1955, p. 94.
- 52 Василиев 1965, p. 405.
- 53 A treasure-trove of information is available in the published archives of Naiden Gerov, the Russian Vice-Consul in Plovdiv. Used here: archives I 1911; archives II 1914; archive I 1931; archive II 1931.

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Linguistic supervision:

Vladimir Agrigoroaei (Centre d' tudes sup rieures de civilisation m di vale / C SCM – UMR 7302, Poitiers);
 Ileana Sasu (Centre d' tudes sup rieures de civilisation m di vale / C SCM – UMR 7302, Poitiers).

Peer-reviewed by:

Margarita Kuyumdzhieva (Институт за изследване на изкуствата, Българска академия на науките, София);
 Nagy M rta (University of Debrecen, Debrecen).